Book Reviews

Bayonets in Paradise: Martial Law in Hawai'i during World War II. By Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. xx + 489 pp. Notes. Illustrated. Index. $45.00 cloth

Amid serious concerns about both an intensely militarized security state, as well as President Trump's current moves to criminalize, detain, and deport people vaguely articulated as "Mexican" and "Muslim," *Bayonets in Paradise* chronicles the steps by which historical precedents for such actions have occurred in U.S. history. Harry N. Scheiber and Jane L. Scheiber examine martial law in the Territory of Hawai'i, an understudied event that the authors studied for several decades, gathering evidence from governmental archives accessed through "progressive release of extensive archival materials in recent years" (p. 4).

The book aims to be comprehensive, and with 18 chapters divided into seven parts, it indeed showcases the volume of archival research, which this review selectively outlines. Part One begins with an overview of martial law and military government, showing that the specter of fifth-column Japanese threat, as well as the anticipated response, was already embedded in Territorial plans. It moves then to a convincing chapter detailing the ways that plans for martial law had been carefully constructed beginning in the 1920s by the Army's War Plans Division, and then through concerted efforts by the FBI, military intelligence officers of the Army and Navy, and the Roosevelt administration. Chapter 3 stresses that the well-established structure for martial law only needed an impetus for implementation. After the attack on Pearl Harbor, the military government very quickly transitioned into power, not only divesting civilian courts of power, but extending its reach into the illegal seizures of civilians. Indeed, preemptive detention, prior to a formal declaration of war, was possible due to this martial law infrastructure. By December

9, 1941, 473 persons of Japanese, German, and Italian ancestry had already been detained, including some detained with warrants that were submitted retroactively for the secretary of war's signature (pp. 44–46).

Chapter 4 details the incursion of martial law into even the most mundane aspects of civilian life, as well as censorship of the media. For this chapter, media censorship under martial law required the authors to innovate the sources and methods they might otherwise have used for a historical study. Chapter 5 describes how martial law, evacuation, and war production created an acute labor shortage in all sectors, including sex work. Not working and absenteeism were articulated into punishable crimes, and hard labor itself was leveraged as punishment (p. 83). More analyses would be welcome on the subject of worker resistance, which under martial law, cohered as a dual strike against capitalist exploitation and militarized labor control (p. 89). Chapter 12, in its coverage of the difficulty of negotiating the arbitrary legal mechanisms imposed during martial law, and the subsequent transition back to the civilian courts, returns to the points raised in Chapter 5. Garner Anthony, territorial attorney general, prioritized the restoration of civilian government, accounting for martial law's encroachment on civilian rights, especially highlighting the fact that "the military orders controlling labor had virtually set aside the Thirteenth Amendment and its prohibition of involuntary servitude" (p. 233).

Chapter 6 analyzes the suspension of habeus corpus in light of General Delos Emmons, who justified a perverse rationale for military control of the justice system by stating that the numerical white minority in Hawai'i would not be fairly served if juries included "citizens of Chinese, Korean, and Philippine ethnic minorities, as well as Japanese Americans" (p. 100). Following such an argument for military control of the justice system, the military provost courts continued on to criminalize—often arbitrarily—tens of thousands of civilians during the war (p. 109).

Chapter 13 offers a study on the fascinating absence of Japanese American internee petitions for writs of habeas corpus during the war, as well as attempts to move prisoners to and from the mainland to avoid judicial proceedings which threatened martial control, what the authors coin "the flight from habeas" (p. 257).

Chapter 7 yields the contradictions of several Japanese imperial projects—Koreans were subject to the same restrictions as those of Japanese ancestry, written into martial law as "enemy aliens" due to their status as Japanese subjects since the 1910 Japanese annexation of Korea. But other contradictions register too briefly here; upon Korean lobbyist appeal to reconsider Korean categorization as enemy aliens, the appeal was denied in part because such a change "might provide an opening wedge for the Formosans, Okinawans,

and other colonists not of pure Japanese blood," (p. 122) which merits serious elaboration. The negotiation with Japan's imperial projects under U.S. martial law, is, of course, an extension of the U.S. imperial project itself in Hawai'i and in the broader Pacific region.

Chapters 8 and 9 trace the significant regulation of affect designed for those designated as "enemy alien" Japanese and the debates and decisions regarding Japanese removal and incarceration, both in the islands and the continental United States. Both chapters review what might be called the ontological disloyalty of Japanese and Japanese Americans in Hawai'i. For instance, even if Nikkei detainees purchased war bonds, donated to the Red Cross or the war effort, spoke English, were Christian and baptized, and had children who were part of the Boy Scouts (p. 163), they still had to confront a *"presumption of disloyalty"* that rendered null the habits of American patriotism (p. 167).

Chapter 10 reiterates the judicial havoc of martial law, as most of the people interned in Hawai'i were taken into custody with no evidence or charges against them. Many of these people were interned illegally; under martial law the Army command in Honolulu arrested and interned both U.S. citizens and those who had been naturalized, explicitly counter to War Department authorization to detain enemy aliens and dual citizens. When the inspector general of the War Department belatedly realized this in June 1943, the Army amended "the records retroactively to specify that confinements had been authorized under the general terms of martial law" (p. 207). Despite Army acknowledgements that Nikkei did not pose a security threat, the military used their presence in Hawai'i as an argument for the continuation of martial law (p.207).

The book ends with the Supreme Court. Tellingly, the Army command wanted a Supreme Court ruling during war itself, to avoid what it thought would be the "more critical view of the comprehensive suspension of civil liberties" if the court ruled during wartime (p. 307). The final chapter, perhaps too simply, treats the persistency of white supremacy codified into law (p. 329). Throughout, a much more rigorous engagement with the histories of settler colonialism in Hawai'i, as well as Native Hawaiian resistance to U.S. empire, could inform the book's premise of justice. As it stands, one of the first introductions to Native Hawaiians is limited to the plantation economy and the emergence of Japanese migration to the islands: "As the indigenous Hawaiian population declined, largely as the result of diseases that had been introduced into the islands, the plantation owners looked to Asia" (p. 10). The authors rehearse the discourse of the disappearing Indian, with the eventual effect of narrating Japanese victimhood against erased indigenous subjectivity. While it could be argued that the book's focus purposefully centers martial

law in Hawai'i during WWII, the sense of injustice for internment camps must be coupled with a more robust critique of occupied Hawai'i, taking much more seriously the ongoing settler violence of the islands. Readers might also look to works by scholars such as Haunani-Kay Trask, J. Kēhaulani Kauanui, and Noenoe Silva, as well as new scholars theorizing the nuanced parameters of martial law and settler violence along with their considerations of *Bayonets in Paradise.* In the final part of the book, the authors note an observation made by Judge McLaughlin, presiding in a federal district court, who traces the implication of martial law in Hawai'i: "if what they did here was right, it could be done at any time in any other part of the United States," bringing the United States dangerously close to sanctioning military dictatorship (p. 320). Yet McLaughlin's words harbor a different echo, one that resonates with the tensions between exceptional territorial governance and the terrors of governmental exceptions in occupied lands.

One of the most important sections of the book, part one, offers insights into how surveillance and military technologies might be deployed against Muslims and those "suspected" of being Muslim in the Islamophobic intensification of the current administration. What is chilling and possibly inadvertent, especially in Chapter 1, is how the "prelude" to martial law and military government furnishes an underground architecture for the deployment of violence and curtailing of legal rights. The book's focus on the classification of Japanese and Japanese Americans, racially isolated as "enemy aliens" during the WWII period, is not limited to the surface comparisons between Japanese internment and the threat of President Trump's implied resurrection of carceral camps for Muslims. It also details the governmental, legal, and military processes that would, through unresolved precedent, sanction such detention practices in the unfolding present.

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Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i. By Tom Coffman. London: Duke University Press, 2016. xvii + 347 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. $26.95 paper

In *Nation Within: The History of the American Occupation of Hawai'i,* Tom Coffman exhibits a radical shift by historians in interpreting political events post-1893. When Coffman first published his book in 1998, his title reflected a

common misunderstanding of annexation. But in 2009, he revised the title by replacing the word *Annexation* with the word *Occupation*. Coffman admitted he made this change because of international law (p. xvi). By shifting the interpretive lens to international law, Coffman not only changed the view to occupation, but would also change the view of the government's overthrow in 1893. While the book lacks any explanation of applicable international laws, he does an excellent job of providing an easy reading of facts for international law to interpret.

In international law, there is a fundamental rule that diplomats have a duty to not intervene in the internal affairs of the sovereign State they are accredited to. Every sovereign State has a right "to establish, alter, or abolish, its own municipal constitution [and] no foreign State can interfere with the exercise of this right."[1] For an ambassador, a violation of this rule would have grave consequences. An offended State could proceed "against an ambassador as a public enemy . . . if justice should be refused by his own sovereign."[2]

John Stevens, the American minister to the Hawaiian Kingdom arrived in the islands in the summer of 1889. As Coffman notes, Stevens was already fixated with annexation when he "wrote that the 'golden hour' for resolving the future status of Hawai'i was at hand," (p. 114) and began to collude with Lorrin Thurston (p. 116). Thurston was not an American citizen but rather a third-generation Hawaiian subject. Stevens' opportunity to intervene and seek annexation would occur after Lili'uokalani "attempted to promulgate a new constitution, [which] was the event Thurston and Stevens had been waiting for" (p. 120).

On January 16, Stevens orders the landing of U.S. troops and "tells Thurston that if the annexationists control three buildings—'Iolani Palace, Ali'iolani Hale, and the Archives—he will announce American recognition of the new government" (p. 121). The following day, "Stevens tells the queen's cabinet that he will protect the annexationists if they are attacked or arrested by government police" (p. 121). However, unbeknown to Stevens, the insurgents only took over Ali'iolani Hale, which housed "clerks of the Kingdom" (p. 125). One of the insurgents, Samuel Damon, knowing Stevens' recognition was premature, sought to convince Lili'uokalani that her resistance was futile because the United States had already recognized the new government, and that she should order Marshal Charles Wilson, head of the government police, to give up the police station. Wilson was planning an assault on the government building to apprehend the insurgents for treason, in spite of the presence of U.S. troops.

International law clearly interprets these events as intervention and Stevens to be a "public enemy" of the Hawaiian Kingdom. This was the same conclusion reached by President Grover Cleveland, whose investigation was

an indictment of Stevens and the commander of the USS *Boston*, Captain Gilbert Wiltse. "The lawful Government of Hawai'i was overthrown without the drawing of a sword or the firing of a shot," Cleveland said, "by a process every step of which, it may be safely asserted, is directly traceable to and dependent for its success upon the agency of the United States acting through its diplomatic and naval representatives" (p. 144). Because of diplomatic immunity, the United States, as the sending State, would be obliged to prosecute Stevens and Wiltse for treason under American law.

On December 20, 1893, a resolution of the U.S. Senate called for a separate investigation to be conducted by the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. Chaired by Senator John Morgan, a vocal annexationist, the purpose of the senate investigation was to repudiate Cleveland's investigation and to vindicate Stevens and Wiltse of criminal liability. One week later, the committee held its first day of hearings in Washington, DC. Stevens appeared before the committee and fielded questions under oath on January 20, 1894. When asked by the chairman if his recognition of the provisional government was for the "purpose of dethroning the Queen," he responded, "Not the slightest—absolute noninterference was my purpose".[3]

After the hearings, two reports were submitted on February 26, 1894—a Committee Report and a Minority Report. The committee of eight senators was split down the middle, with Morgan giving the majority vote for the Committee Report. Half of the committee members did not believe Stevens' testimony regarding his non-intervention. The Minority Report stated, "We can not concur . . . in so much of the foregoing report as exonerates the minister of the United States, Mr. Stevens, from active officious and unbecoming participation in the events which led to the revolution".[4]

The Senate Committee's investigation could find no direct evidence that would disprove Stevens' sworn testimony, but in 2016, the "smoking gun" was found that would prove Stevens was a public enemy of the Hawaiian Kingdom, that he committed perjury before the committee, and would no doubt have been prosecuted under the 1790 federal statute of treason. The Hawaiian Mission Houses Archives is processing a collection of documents given to them by a descendent of William O. Smith. Smith was an insurgent who served as the attorney general for Sanford Dole, so-called president of the provisional government.

The "smoking gun" is a note to Dole signed by Stevens marked "private," written under the letterhead of the "United States Legation" in Honolulu, and dated January 17, 1893. Stevens writes, "Judge Dole: I would advise not to make known of my recognition of the de facto Provisional Government until said Government is in possession of the police station."[5]

As a political scientist, I find Coffman's book a welcome addition to arresting revisionist history.

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Notes

[1] Baker, Sherston. *Halleck's International Law*, 3rd ed., vol. 1 (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, & Co. Ltd., 1893), 94.
[2] Wheaton, Henry. *Elements of International Law*, 8th ed., (London: Sampson Low, Son, and Company, 1866), 301.
[3] United States Senate, 53d Cong., *Reports of Committees of the Senate of the United States for the Second Session of the Fifty-third Congress: 1893–94* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1895), 550.
[4] United States Senate, 53d Cong., Report No. 227, *Report from the Committee on Foreign Relations and Appendix in Relation to the Hawaiian Islands* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1894), xxxv.
[5] Letter from United States Minister, John L. Stevens, to Sanford B. Dole, January 1893, W. O. Smith Collection, HEA Archives, HMCS, Honolulu, available at http://hmha.missionhouses.org/items/show/889.

Staking Claim: Settler Colonialism and Racialization in Hawai'i. By Judy Rohrer. Tucson: The University of Arizona Press, 2016. 232 pp. Bibliography. Index. $55.00 cloth

In *Staking Claim: Settler Colonialism and Racialization in Hawai'i*, Judy Rohrer contends that in order to understand settler colonialism, it is necessary to account for the ways in which racial discourses have been deployed to undermine Native Hawaiian claims, rights, and entitlements. The metaphor "staking claim" is used both literally and metaphorically, referring to the ways nonnatives have established their rights to material resources and the privilege of claiming Hawai'i as home. Racial discourses—the discourse of racial harmony and the discourse of racial conflict—have supported nonnatives in their claims. She uses the cases of *Harold F. Rice v. Benjamin J. Cayetano* 528 U.S. 495 (2000) (*Rice v. Cayetano*) and challenges to the Kamehameha Schools admissions policy to demonstrate this assertion.

Chapters one and two discuss contemporary scholarship from Native Pacific cultural studies and settler colonial studies. Here Rohrer argues that each field provides strategies that are necessary but not sufficient to an analysis of settler colonialism in Hawai'i. Patrick Wolfe's five elements of settler colonialism (colonialism as a structure; the centrality of land; the logic of native elimination; the use of imported labor; and the replacement of natives with nonnatives) can be used to analyze Hawai'i. What this approach lacks, however, is found in Native Pacific cultural studies, most importantly Native Pacific epistemologies and temporalities that can generate methodologies more appropriate to Hawai'i.

Chapter three acts as a bridge that links academic theory to the concrete reality of settler colonialism. Here Rohrer argues that racial discourses that "indigenize nonnatives" and "racialize natives" are a key feature of settler colonialism in Hawai'i. (p. 79) The discourse of racial harmony, which has a long and all too familiar history, presents Hawai'i as a racial paradise secured by allegiance to Hawaiian values of love, kindness, and a welcoming spirit. The discourse of racial conflict imagines whites as the victims of racism perpetrated by Hawaiians. This discourse was on display during the "Massie Affair" when Native Hawaiians were depicted as a threat to the white community, especially white women. Rohrer argues that these discourses "naturalize" the presence of nonnatives, erasing the violence of colonialism by treating Whites as just one of the many groups (including Hawaiians) who settled Hawai'i.

Chapters four and five analyze the Supreme Court decision in *Rice v. Cayetano* and the public discussion of the challenges to the Kamehameha Schools admissions policy. Harold Rice, a fifth generation descendant of American missionaries, sued for the right to vote in elections for the Trustees of the Office of Hawaiian Affairs (OHA), a state entity established to distribute resources owed to Native Hawaiians as a result of the theft of land by the U.S. government after annexation. OHA elections had been restricted to Hawaiians (defined by blood quantum or ancestry). Rice argued that the elections violated the 14th and 15th Amendments. Rohrer demonstrates that the courts sided with Rice because Hawaiians were racialized, i.e. treated as a race, not as indigenous people who had a prior claim to Hawai'i that predated and superseded the U.S. Constitution. A similar process happened in the Kamehameha Schools cases in which nonnatives challenged the admissions policies that gave preference to children of Hawaiian descent. Both cases were backed by conservative political groups and lawyers who used a "color-blind" racial ideology that imagined whites to be victims of systemic discrimination that excluded them from preferences reserved for Native Hawaiians. Rohrer suggests that by claiming their right to attend Kamehameha Schools, these nonnatives were attempting to "indigenize" themselves by equating them-

selves with Kanaka Maoli who were meant to be the principal beneficiaries of Bernice Pauahi Bishop's estate.

For Rohrer, the cases reveal a significant problem because they rely on a dichotomy between who belongs (natives) and who does not (settler), a strict binary that does not reflect the more complicated reality of Hawaii's past and present. She offers a potential resolution, a "third space of sovereignty" that moves beyond this binary. (p. 161) It emerges from Native Pacific epistemologies in which identity is not determined by structures and processes that are part of the apparatus of the colonial state. Identity and the right to stake a claim to Hawai'i is established through a genealogy that connects an individual to the land and ancestors. Staking a claim through genealogy requires recognizing and carrying out one's kuleana (responsibilities). Decolonization, then, is a political project that is driven by a deeper more nuanced understanding of identity, relationship, and responsibility. Rohrer explores these issues in the book's final chapter. She uses feminist theories, Chicana studies and her own experiences to investigate her genealogy—her family's lineage and how it came to intersect with Hawai'i—and her own kuleana in the struggle for decolonization.

This is a complicated book with many moving parts. Not all of them fit together neatly, which may be a reflection of the complexity of the ideas or an indication of a flawed approach to the subject. Those involved in the study of settler colonialism and Native Pacific cultural studies will find a great deal to grapple with. Rohrer's arguments are compelling, though an audience unfamiliar with the academic work she builds on might find sections of the book difficult to follow. Nevertheless, the book is worth the struggle in that it offers a fresh approach to understanding the vexing problem of decolonization and a provocative way forward.

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The People's Race Inc.: Behind the Scenes at the Honolulu Marathon. By Michael S. K. N. Tsai. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. 206 pp. Illustrated. Notes. Bibliography. Index. $19.99 paper

Reporter-columnist Tsai delivers an intriguing history of the Honolulu Marathon, which has long been among the most significant and popular in the

United States. A seasoned marathoner himself, Tsai discusses the evolution of the event, from its founding with few participants to its pulling in over 30,000 entries to the city of Honolulu.

The People's Race Inc. offers, in many ways, a succinct but instructive telling of the history of marathon running, particularly in the United States. Tsai traces the release of *Aerobics*, published in 1968 by Dr. Kenneth Cooper, as triggering the initial "American fitness movement" (p. 10). Also influential was *Jogging: A Physical Fitness Program for All Ages* (1967), by William J. Bowerman and W.E. Harris (p. 11). Along with Phil Knight, Bowerman went on to found Blue Ribbon Sports, which later became Nike, Inc., and he designed "the first great recreational running shoe" in 1971 (p. 11).

The following year, running for both recreational and competitive purposes received a big boost from marathoner Frank Shorter's triumph at the Olympic Games in Munich, when he became the first American to win the gold medal in the events since 1908, and only the third to do so in the modern Olympic era. ABC's relaying of the event enthralled many in the United States, and the appearance of *Runner's World* and other running magazines underscored the growing popularity of running and jogging.

Meanwhile, Jack Scaff, who was working in Honolulu, teamed with another cardiologist, John Wagner, and an academic pathologist, Thomas Bassler, in exploring the impact of exercise in diminishing cardiovascular risks. Scaff would work with Honolulu mayor Frank Fasi, among others, to establish the Honolulu Marathon; Fasi was intent on modernizing the city and spurring tourism. Cognizant of Honolulu's year-round heat and humidity, Scaff insisted that aid stations, intended to foster hydration, be set up along the course route. Serving as medical director, he also placed health professionals at those aid stations, ambulances, radio communication, and nurses ready on bicycles. Exactly 151 people—virtually all of those who began—completed the initial "Rim of the Pacific Run." One was the pianist Val Nolasco, a heart attack victim two years earlier, seemingly verifying Scaff's contention that distance running could help those suffering from cardiac problems or sedentary existences. Scaff, author Tsai indicates, spearheaded "a revolutionary movement" that enabled non-elite runners to undertake and finish marathons (p. 27). That helped to ensure that the number of entrants for the Honolulu Marathon rose immediately, almost doubling from the first year.

During the 1970s, the running craze began to take hold in the United States, with articles in popular magazines, discussions of the "runner's high" (p. 30) or hitting the "wall," and Jim Fixx's *The Complete Book of Running* (1977) becoming a best seller. Hawai'i appeared particularly caught up in the mania, while the Honolulu Marathon surged in popularity, having 8500

entrants by the end of the decade. A raft of volunteers helped to make the race succeed, along with key figures like Jeannette and Ron Chun, who dealt with organizational and operational matters. Scaff's own notoriety heightened, leading to appearances in *Sports Illustrated* but he was soon pushed aside by the Honolulu Marathon Association's Board of Directors.

As participation in the Honolulu Marathon continued to grow, controversies occurred. This included the role of disabled athletes, banned for a period, and payments for top finishers and notable entrants. Such payments violated strictures pertaining to amateur status, something that other Olympic sports confronted. Prize moneys began to be allowed, as did corporate sponsorships, the most significant of all from Nike.

About a third way into the book, Tsai looks back at the origin of the marathon and its recent development. He writes about Pierre de Coubertin's dream of a modern Olympic Games, before discussing the standardizing of the event at 26 miles, 385 yards, in 1908. That was the year the American John Hayes prevailed at London's Great White City Stadium, after the Italian leader, Dorando Pietri, became ill and had to be helped across the finish line. The book next explores early marathons in Hawai'i, including the Hawaiian Amateur Athletic Union race, before tracing the acclaim drawn by the great Czech champion Emil Zatopek at the 1952 Olympic Games in Helsinki. But marathons in Hawai'i limped along until Jack Scaff and his cohorts tapped into the running boom of the 1970s. During the next decade, Jon Cross and Jim Barahal, former runners at the University of Michigan, spurred greater interest in the Honolulu Marathon, attracting African athletes at the cusp of their careers and other elite runners. The promise of guaranteed payments drew a still more prestigious crop, along with a boost in prize monies, as new records were set. Entry levels continued to jump, thanks to the participation of a larger and larger number of Japanese entrants, including many who were hardly accomplished runners. Indeed by the early 90s, Japanese runners made up over 70 percent of the field. However, the African factor proved at least equally significant, with runners like Ibrahim Hussein, Jimmy Muindi, Erick Kimaiyo, and Mbarak Hussein capturing title after title as Africans won every race but two in a three-decade span of time.

When the Honolulu Marathon turned into one of the world's biggest, competition with other top races proved fierce. That led to charity running, fund-raising efforts, and the hiring of a celebrity journalist like Hunter S. Thompson to deliver an account of the Honolulu Marathon. That race was the first to employ microchip timing, "accurate and reliable" but quite expensive. Controversies continued, including one regarding drug usage by the apparent winner of the women's event in 2006. That in turn led to drug testing of the first three finishers in both the men's and women's races, and

additional random testing of top placeholders. In addition to having to contend with possible doping issues, the organizers for the Honolulu Marathon felt compelled to emphasize how much it benefited the local economy, purportedly to the tune of over $100 million annually, while not receiving any government support. One recent hopeful sign was a seeming "second great American Running Boom" with more marathon participants.

The People's Race Inc. winds down rather abruptly, but overall it makes a significant contribution to the history of sport, and particularly to that of long-distance running as both a competitive and non-elite activity.

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Picture Bride Stories. By Barbara F. Kawakami. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2016. xxi + 298 pp. Glossary. Illustrated. Index. $39.99 cloth

Barbara F. Kawakami's new book recounts 16 life stories of Japanese immigrant women who arrived in Hawai'i between 1909 and 1923 as young picture brides. Similar to her highly acclaimed previous work, *Japanese Immigrant Clothing in Hawaii 1885–1941* (1993), Kawakami has adopted the oral history method; this book is the fruit of her extensive interviews with Issei women and their family members conducted during the 1970s and the following decades. These women came from Hiroshima, Yamaguchi, Kumamoto, Fukuoka, Fukushima, and Okinawa, prefectures known for sending large numbers of immigrants to Hawai'i and the continental United States.

Some episodes of their accounts mesh neatly with and reinforce the established discourse of Japanese picture brides in Hawai'i: lives of continuous struggles and perseverance. Indeed, these Issei women literally worked day and night. In addition to laboring in the fields the same hours as men, they took care of housework and burned the midnight oil doing laundry and needlework to earn extra money. Their husbands exercised patriarchal authority and expected them to be devoted, obedient wives. These women's lives also revolved around continual pregnancies, childbirth, and child rearing. Some brides unexpectedly became widows, and then became breadwinners for their families. To be dutiful to their in-laws, many picture brides continued to send remittances to Japan for years. Though such experiences may not have

been unusual for Issei women in those days, their narratives describing such experiences are incomparably vivid and powerful.

Some stories go beyond the picture brides' everyday lives to shed new light on the larger canvas of Hawai'i Nikkei history. For example, the book reveals local Japanese involvement in independent farming and small businesses, including pineapple cultivation, hog raising, poultry raising, and laundry and owner-driven taxi businesses, occupations that have been less documented than their experiences on the sugar plantations. Hawai'i's Nikkei sought a niche on the edges of the Islands' larger economy, which was controlled by the Big Five conglomerates. Such women achieved a certain degree of economic autonomy in and outside their ethnic community even before World War II.

One of the most fascinating examples of small private businesses led by Issei in the pre-war years is the case of Shizu Kaigo, a bridal consultant. Shizu's clients were young Nisei women who were eager to have traditional Japanese costume weddings. During a temporary return to Hiroshima during the early 1930s, Shizu was professionally trained to dress brides in decorative *kimono* and set their hair in authentic Japanese style. Unlike many other Issei men, her husband Tomeji was fully supportive of her new career. She states, "he gave me the freedom to pursue whatever interest or goal I had, as long as I kept up with my domestic duties" (p. 183). Shizu's business thrived in Hawai'i because her expertise fulfilled the demands not only of Nisei brides but also of their immigrant parents, who had been unable to afford a fancy wedding for themselves, but then became financially comfortable enough to host one for their children. As Shizu's story suggests, this book illuminates how pre-war local Japanese, regardless of whether they were of the immigrant generation or American-born, benefitted from cultural capital brought from Japan as they settled down in Hawai'i and began to enjoy social and economic advancement.

Interestingly, this book presents a picture of rather amicable and cooperative interracial/interethnic relations in prewar Hawai'i that differs from many previous studies of local ethnic history. For instance, we learn that Kikuyo Fujimoto's Issei husband served as a steward to Queen Lili'uokalani at Washington Place, and that, after the queen's death, the Fujimoto family lived in her summer cottage in Waikīkī for nearly 30 years, thanks to the courtesy of Mr. Curtis Iaukea, who also served Hawai'i's royal family. Taga Toki's husband was a Hawai'i-born Nisei who had many Native Hawaiian friends throughout his life. Similarly, some picture brides from Okinawa fondly recollect their friendship and bonding with people from *Naichi*, or mainland Japan. Ushi Tamashiro often got help from her *Naichi* neighbors when running a hog-

raising business after her husband's death. While some episodes reveal tensions between Japanese and Hawaiians and between Okinawans and mainland Japanese, the women's stories show more racial/ethnic cooperation than conflict.

The book does not include endnotes, though its introduction provides a general historical and cultural overview of Japanese immigration to Hawai'i. Some additional information about economic circumstances in Japan, such as the "*Matsukata* Deflation," would help the reader to understand why so many Japanese men from farming communities set out for Hawai'i in the late nineteenth century. The Deflation caused a sharp decline in the prices of agricultural products and subsequently led to economic depression. The price of silk also plummeted, causing many farmers engaged in sericulture to emigrate in order to make ends meet. The book features picture brides from Fukushima, Fukuoka, and Kumamoto who helped their parents raise silkworms, and the Deflation was one of the major factors that led their future husbands to leave their home villages. Such supplementary background information would be useful for readers who are not well-versed in the history of Japanese immigration to Hawai'i.

Picture Bride Stories is thoroughly researched, beautifully written, highly readable, and can be recommended to both academic scholars and general readers. This is a must-read for anyone interested in a history of Japanese Americans in Hawai'i, especially immigrant women's experiences.

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